

Second, on the question of ground forces, although NATO planners have reviewed a broad range of options, some of which would involve ground forces in hostile circumstances, I can assure you the United States would not support these options and there currently is no sentiment in NATO for such a mission. The mission under consideration involves the use of graduated air power, not military forces on the ground.

In the event that Milosevic agrees to comply with UNSCR 1199, and if there is a subsequent political settlement, some form of international presence may be needed. Whether this can be done entirely by international civilian personnel and whether Americans should participate are matters we will need to consider in the context of any such agreement and with full consultations with the Congress.

Third, regarding the nature of the air campaign in Kosovo, NATO has developed a clear military plan. It entails the graduated but effective use of air power harnessed to two achievable objectives. The primary objective is by threat of force, or its use, to persuade Milosevic to comply with the demands of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1199. If initial use of air power does not result in compliance, NATO's secondary objective is to strike Belgrade's military capabilities in ways that will damage his ability to conduct repressive operations in Kosovo, the same objective you identify in your letter.

Let me assure you that NATO planning provides for air power to be used effectively. There will be no "pin prick" strikes. Even the initial use of air power will send a very clear signal of our ability to disrupt operations by the FRY military and special police, and follow-on phases will progressively expand in their scale and scope. These operations are planned to involve virtually all NATO allies.

Finally, regarding your desire for a clear policy linked to our national interests and a defined end-state, NATO air power will be used as part of a broader political strategy to advance our overall objectives of promoting a political settlement and averting a humanitarian catastrophe. We are not replacing diplomacy with military force; rather we are combining the two to achieve our objectives. Secretary Albright recently dispatched Ambassador Holbrooke to the region to make crystal clear to Milosevic what steps he needs under UNSC 1199 to take to avoid NATO air strikes. Even if Milosevic gives NATO no choice but to execute air strikes, we will use them in a way designed to help bring an end to Serbian operations in Kosovo, voluntarily or involuntarily.

Our desired end-state in Kosovo is clear, comprising three parts. Our immediate objective is to achieve full compliance with UN Security Council resolution 1199, thus reducing the risk of wider conflict, averting a humanitarian catastrophe and lessening the chance of further atrocities. Our mid-term objective is to secure a political settlement that grants broad autonomy to the Kosovars, while keeping Kosovo within the FRY. In particular, the agreement should ensure that the Kosovars have their own bodies of government and police. Our longer-term objective is a FRY that is democratic and on the path to European integration. This requires a responsible government that is accountable to its own citizens, of all ethnic backgrounds, and that carries out its obligations abroad, including in Bosnia. In this regard, we continue to support opposition parties and free and independent media in the FRY. Further efforts in these areas are an important part of our broader strategy.

The United Nations, the Contact Group, NATO and my Administration all agree that Milosevic bears primary responsibility for

the current situation including the brutal tactics of his security forces. Not only has he displaced a quarter million of his own citizens, but he has also suppressed the human rights of all citizens of the FRY and forced them to bear the burden of the current conflict, of UN economic sanctions and of isolation from the rest of Europe.

While Milosevic bears primary responsibility for the current crisis, there are others whose actions could prolong and exacerbate it. I am referring in particular to the various armed insurgent groups in Kosovo, including the Kosovar Liberation Army, or UCK. Ambassador Holbrooke this week delivered a firm message to these groups to cooperate in bringing about a peaceful solution. Armed reprisals against Serb civilians, or the continued pursuit of independence by military means, will only shatter a cease-fire and the hopes of attaining a political settlement that gives Kosovo true autonomy. We have told them that failure to cooperate will cause us to reassess our operations against the Serbs.

Larry Eagleburger, our former ambassador to Yugoslavia, once said that the war in Yugoslavia began in Kosovo and will ultimately end there. His prediction was correct. Our job is to bring that war to an end, to keep it from destabilizing the region and to avert a humanitarian catastrophe. I appreciate your willingness to work with the Administration to protect American interests in southeastern Europe. We will continue to consult closely with you in the critical days and weeks ahead.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON.

TRIBUTE TO ADMIRAL T. JOSEPH LOPEZ ON THE OCCASION OF HIS RETIREMENT

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Admiral Joe Lopez on the occasion of his Change of Command as Commander of Allied Forces, Southern Europe and U.S. Naval Forces, Europe and his retirement from the United States Navy after 39 years of dedicated service to the nation.

Joe Lopez joined the United States Navy to see the world—and see the world he did. A native of Powellton, West Virginia, he enlisted in the Navy in September 1959. In 1964, he was commissioned an Ensign via the Seaman-to-Admiral Program and upon commissioning, he was assigned first to the U.S.S. *Eugene A. Greene* (DD 711) and then to the U.S.S. *Lind* (DD 703). While onboard both of these destroyers, he saw action in Vietnam.

Admiral Lopez received his first command in September 1969, when he assumed the duties as Commander, River Assault Division 153, which operated in the Mekong Delta in Vietnam and as part of a counter-offensive into Cambodia in May 1970. Admiral Lopez was the only Navy commanding officer to lead a river assault into Cambodia.

Following tours of duty at the Naval Postgraduate School, the Armed Forces Staff College, and as Flag Secretary and Staff Officer for Commander, Cruiser-Destroyer Group Eight, Admiral Lopez served as the Executive Officer onboard the U.S.S. *Truett* (FF 1095) from 1977 to 1979. While

he was XO, the *Truett* operated in the Mediterranean and Red Seas.

Admiral Lopez commanded the U.S.S. *Stump* (DD 978) from September 1982 to November 1984. As the CO of *Stump* he completed a Persian Gulf deployment. Admiral Lopez' next command tour was as Commander, Destroyer Squadron 32, which deployed to the Mediterranean Sea. He followed his Squadron Commander assignment with duties as Executive Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Manpower, Personnel and Training and as Executive Assistant to the Vice Chief of Naval Operations.

Admiral Lopez was promoted to Rear Admiral in July 1989. He served as Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's senior military assistant from July 1990 to July 1992 including during the Persian Gulf Conflict. From July 1992 to December 1993, he commanded the United States Sixth Fleet and NATO's Striking and Support Forces, Southern Europe, homeported in Gaeta, Italy.

For the next three years he served as the Navy's senior acquisition official, the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Resources, Warfare Requirements and Assessments. He led the Navy's transition to a force that is able to operate effectively in the littorals. His accomplishments include helping to develop the next generation of nuclear-powered attack submarines, the recently named *Virginia* class of fast attack subs, which are being built jointly by Newport News Shipbuilding and Electric Boat.

Admiral Lopez became Commander in Chief, U.S. Naval Forces, Europe and Commander in Chief, Allied Forces, Southern Europe on 31 July 1996. As CINC AFSOUTH, he commanded the Peace Implementation Forces (IFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina from July 1996 to November 1996.

Tomorrow, at a ceremony at Headquarters AFSOUTH in Naples Italy, after more than two years as the senior military commander in NATO's southern region, Admiral Lopez will relinquish command to Admiral James O. Ellis, Jr. The ceremony will also mark the retirement of Admiral Joe Lopez after a 39-year Navy career.

Mr. President, Admiral Lopez has had a tremendous career and I wish to thank him for the superb job he has done as Commander in Chief of Allied Forces, Southern Europe and U.S. Naval Forces Europe. He demonstrated outstanding leadership as commander of the NATO forces in charge of enforcing the Dayton Peace Agreement. In my travels to that war-torn region of the world I have come to know Admiral Lopez well. We have traveled together on official business. On many occasions, I have visited Joe and his wife Vivian at their quarters in Naples, and have sought the Admiral's counsel, especially on the volatile situations in the Balkans. Admiral Joe Lopez is a man of vision and an astute realist. I will continue to seek his counsel during his retirement.

I congratulate Joe and Vivian Lopez upon the completion of their active duty Navy career and thank them for their service to the country. And finally, I want to thank Admiral Lopez for his friendship and honest counsel over the years. Since the closing days of World War II, 1945, I have known and served with many sailors. I rank him at the top, a "4.0 seaman patriot."

DEVELOPMENTS IN KOSOVO

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I thank Senator WARNER for speaking about Kosovo. I am disappointed that the Senate has not brought a resolution to the floor and had a debate about what our response should be as a Nation to what is happening in Kosovo. I think it is a profound mistake on our part not to have this discussion given the fact that we are going to adjourn within the next couple of days.

Mr. President, I want to be held accountable. I think we should all be held accountable as to what our viewpoints are and what we think our country should or should not do.

Mr. President, while there have been some indications in recent days that the slaughter of innocent civilians has slowed—at least temporarily—we cannot afford to turn our attention away from the situation there.

President Milosevic claims to have ordered some units of his army back to their barracks, but it is too early to tell exactly what these actions mean and whether Milosevic actually intends to cease his brutal offensive against the Albanian Kosovars. There is considerable evidence that he may not be truly pulling back in accordance with Western demands, but rather taking halfway measures that would allow his troops and tanks to return to the fighting almost immediately. UN Secretary General Annan reported earlier this week that there is still a significant presence of Serb armed forces in Kosovo, and that some special police units are continuing punitive operations against the local population. I remain deeply skeptical about Milosevic's intentions.

We have had too much experience with Milosevic to take his statements at face value and to assume that the killing has really ended. We have seen his defiance of world opinion and international law for years. Recently we were all shocked by the horrific massacres of civilians—the massacre of women, elderly men, even young children and infants. These killings, attributed to Serb security forces, are an affront to the international community.

Now it looks as if Milosevic may have ordered a partial withdrawal of his attack forces, hoping to avoid imminent military action by NATO. He may believe that if the killings stop for a time, the attention of NATO and the U.S. will turn elsewhere. We must not allow that to happen. We must keep our focus on the crisis in Kosovo, and not become distracted by other issues.

Unless immediate action is taken to forestall a humanitarian tragedy, we may soon see even more disturbing and gruesome pictures from Kosovo. With an estimated 150,000 people in Kosovo living out in the open without any shelter and with winter approaching, international relief agencies now fear that tens of thousands of those displaced persons could face severe hardship and some even death from exposure unless they can return to their homes or be provided adequate shelter within the next couple of weeks.

The situation on the ground in Kosovo is heartbreaking. According to a report from a representative of the International Rescue Committee who recently visited the Kosovo countryside, young children are wandering around in the hills barefoot or in ripped sandals. Extended families of several generations are sleeping 15 to 20 to a tent. The tents are clear plastic supported only by bent saplings. Mothers are desperate to return home. Even if their houses are burned they would rather sleep in tents in their own yards than in the inhospitable hills. But they are afraid to return home, because every time they try to return snipers shoot at them.

As the IRC report relates, these displaced Kosovars are trying to survive in areas where there is no food, no shelter, no schools for the children, no latrine system, and no other basic infrastructure. They have only the clothes they were wearing when they fled in the summer. The children have diarrhea from the dirty water and lack of sanitation. Parents watch, worried, as their children vomit all night and become dehydrated. Soon they will also have to face snow and freezing cold.

These appalling conditions cannot continue. We must get aid to this terrorized population swiftly. But we can only get relief to them if Milosevic ceases his repression and allows relief agencies unfettered access.

The Administration and our NATO allies must keep the pressure on Milosevic to put an end to Serb military action in Kosovo and to comply with the demands of the UN Security Council resolution of September 23. That resolution demands that both parties cease hostilities and maintain a cease-fire. The resolution also calls on Belgrade to (1) cease all action by the security forces affecting the civilian population and order the withdrawal of security forces used for civilian repression; (2) allow free access for international diplomatic monitors in Kosovo and unimpeded access for humanitarian organizations and supplies to Kosovo and; (3) make rapid progress on a clear timetable in conducting autonomy talks with the Kosovo Albanian community.

I have also been encouraged that NATO has instructed its military commanders to begin preparations for possible military action and that NATO members have informed NATO Command what forces and equipment they

are prepared to supply for actions in the Kosovo region.

I have always been a Senator who insists that military actions abroad should always be a last resort. I still hope and pray, as a Senator from Minnesota, that in this situation we will not have to resort to force. I view it as a last option if we cannot resolve this situation by diplomatic means. But I also recognize that we cannot rule out the use of force, including the use of air strikes, in this situation. If the killing resumes or if Milosevic prevents relief from getting to the displaced Kosovars and fails to comply with the UN resolution and the demands of the international community, we may have to resort to military action.

I met with Milosevic once. I wanted to see firsthand the genocide of several years ago. He was the first and only person I have met that I would not shake hands with. I don't think he can be believed, and I think that we have to send him a forceful message.

To prepare for possible implementation of more forceful options developed by NATO planners, we should continue to move forward now, under NATO auspices, with pre-deployment in the region of appropriate levels of NATO military equipment and forces. This would include such actions as pre-positioning aircraft and naval vessels, and deployment of necessary materiel to support NATO troops.

These moves would be intended to send another clear message to Milosevic that he must comply with the UN Security Council Resolution immediately. If he does not respond we must be ready to take further steps to force compliance as necessary.

At the same time, we need to take other actions to keep the pressure on Milosevic. The U.S. should press forward on an intensified multilateral effort, at the United Nations and through regional bodies like the European Union, to firmly tighten the existing sanctions regime on Serbia, to re-impose other sanctions lifted after signing of the Dayton Peace Accord, and to otherwise increase pressure on Milosevic to comply.

We must also accelerate U.S. and NATO logistical support for the ongoing international humanitarian aid effort in Kosovo, including pre-deployment of humanitarian supplies in Kosovo in anticipation of winter distribution by non-governmental organizations, while ensuring the safety and security of those who will rely on such aid.

There must be no repeat of the disgraceful Bosnian "safe haven" disaster of Srebrenica.

The U.S. and NATO must also press for immediate and unrestricted access in Kosovo for internationally-recognized human rights monitoring organizations, including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and increase aid and intelligence support to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.